585
[415] they are by bringing along "Mates" and "Calabazas," i.e. bowls and pitchers made of the rind of pumpkin-like fruit, into which they put the greatest part of the food and drink offered in order to carry them home. Only when everybody has eaten until he is ready to burst and the majority are rather drunk, the wedding draws to a close. The young couple is finally left alone and may go to their hut. But before the couple are allowed to enjoy their love to the full, they must pass through a long cruel (because it is continent) trial period. They live and sleep together under their
[286] common mosquito-net made of cotton with red flowers, but not as husband and wife, but as brother and sister, and they are not allowed to touch each other for an entire year. They must remain pious, chaste and abstemious, no matter how difficult it may be for them. The purpose is to steel the virtue of abstemiousness and the strength of will. Only when this period of fasting and trial is over, may they succumb to the ecstasies of love. Woe to those
684 who cannot withstand and secretely attempt to taste of the forbidden fruit before the end of the trial year—if discovered they pay for their crime with their lives or have to seek refuge immediately in another territory which cannot be reached by the punishing arm of their strict rulers. Only once I had occasion to watch how a fiancé, who was violently in love, gingerly and furtively with trembling hands touched the arm and naked breast of his betrothed.
302 During this year of betrothal they use red and black plant juices
584 to paint their faces, chests, arms and legs with streaks and dots. This custom corresponds to our engagement announcements and wedding rings.

846 Immediately after the birth of a baby, the young mother gets
[515] up from her bed, goes to the river and bathes. Bathing in the river is one of the Cayapas' passions. Each and everyone of them take at least two or even three baths per day. The young mother has barely left her child when the grandmother cleans it up a bit, puts it down again; and then the father lies down with it, staying in bed with the child from three to five weeks, letting his wife nurse him, just as though he were the woman in child-bed, who had gone through the pains of childbirth and was in need of recuperating and nursing care. The young mother, on the other hand, does her usual work already an hour after delivery, attending to her daily chores as though nothing had happened. This strange custom is connected with their religious concepts and their fear of evil spirits

846 and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horridly ugly.

594 The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not
[595 have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only
837] [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with
[689] white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the
[764] dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

574 While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts
648 are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

135 There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are
316 small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the rene-
[301] gades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and
[648] robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

[611] There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

BIRTH

Contrary to the conditions prevailing among many aboriginal peoples, among the Cayapa there are few restrictions associated with birth. Parturition is usually in a more or less erect position, the woman sitting upon a low stool of the type shown in pl. LXXXIII[1/1] and no medicines are taken, excepting sometimes a small glass of hot, strong rum. The woman is attended by other women of her family, but submits to no ceremonial restrictions; indeed the only prohibitions to which she is subject are those against bathing, and eating meat. She lies still for a period varying from a day to about a week, but during this time and subsequently she may prepare any food she desires, may feed herself, comb her own hair, touch her own face, and perform various other acts which are forbidden under like circumstances among many other aboriginal peoples.

Couvade, which is so rigidly observed among many South American tribes, is not practised here. In fact, during his wife's confinement a man appears to be entirely unrestricted: he follows his usual pursuits, and even hunts and fishes, two occupations which by a great many tribes are especially forbidden to fathers of newborn children.

With respect to the new-born child itself certain customs are observed. Much care is taken in connection with the umbilicus and the placenta. The cord is cut at a distance of three or four inches from the body, and the end is dipped in hot grease and securely tied. The afterbirth is immediately wrapped in leaves and is

[1/1] [P. 154(B), Cat. 116.--- Analyst]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

844 either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely
846 to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

844 This great care that no one shall come upon either the
846 umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death.
[754] No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

844 Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

553 According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time
553 within a few days after birth. This first rite is per-
608 formed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ǐspi/: /ǐs-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may do some light work in the monte. The infant is never taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed kulada which is prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /iɨui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers